



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

BRITISH CORRESPONDENCE CONCERNING TEXAS

XX

EDITED BY EPHRAIM DOUGLASS ADAMS

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹

No 7.

Her Majesty's Consulate
Galveston,
April. 3d. 1845.

My Lord,

On the 22d ultimo, I had the honor to address a communication to Her Majesty's Minister at Washington, in the United States, mentioning, in the following terms, a report which had reached me.

"----- I have heard—and on what I am entitled to call good authority—that preparations are in progress in the United States for raising a force of ten thousand men, with a view to the invasion of the Mexican Provinces south of the Rio Grande. I have reason to believe that secret communications have for some time been carried on, between certain of the Federal leaders in those Provinces, and parties resident in Texas, who, at present,—I am told—are in the United States, urging forward the Military preparations reported to be in progress."

The force to be raised, and the object for which it was to be organized, were lately announced in Galveston, by Doctor Branch T. Archer,² formerly Secretary of War in Texas, and (I am informed) cousin to a gentleman of the same name, who is a Senator of the United States' Congress, and who, during its last Session, acted as Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations.

From the subjoined Note, addressed by the Acting Secretary of State of Texas to the Chargé d' Affaires of the United States,

¹F. O., Texas, oVI. 14.

²A leader in the Texan revolution. B. 1790, d. 1856. Archer was a physician in Pennsylvania, until 1831, when he went to Texas. After independence, he was for a time speaker of the House of Representatives. He also filled the position of secretary of war, but retired from active political life in 1842, because of ill health. (Appleton, *Cyclop. of Amer. Biography.*)

on the 13th of December last, it would seem that the only course now open to the Texan Executive, in regard to the question of Annexation, is to submit it to the decision of the people

ALLEN TO DONELSON

Department of State
Washington 13th Dec. 1844

To The Hon. A. J. Donaldson.³

Chargé d' Affaires of the
United States.

Sir,

The Undersigned, Attorney General of the Republic of Texas, charged, *ad interim*, with the direction of the Department of State, has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the Note that Mr. Donaldson, Chargé d' Affaires, etc., did him the honor to address to him, under date of the 10th Instant, communicating information as to the Measures adopted by the President of the United States to guard the interests of Texas against injuries likely to result from the renewal of the war upon Texas by Mexico, on account of the acceptance of the proposition for Annexation made by the United States, and the avowed mode of conducting that war, as detailed in the orders of General Woll, and, the previous decree of the Provisional President; also communicating the Views and suggestions of Mr Donaldson on the important question of Annexation; and expressing the desire and expectation of the Executive of his Government that Texas will continue to—"Maintain her connection with the cause of Annexation, so far, at least, as not to consider it lost, or abandoned, on account of the late action of the Senate of the United States upon it."

"The Undersigned is directed, by the President to assure Mr Donaldson, in reply, that the existing relations between the United States and Texas, so far as the subject of Annexation is concerned, will not be affected by any opposing or unfavourable action on the part of the Executive of the latter. But, in receiving this assurance, Mr Donaldson cannot but perceive that

³This letter is here printed, though calendared by Garrison as printed in Senate Journal, 9th Texas Cong., 195-197.

the result, in relation to Annexation, may depend upon causes over which the President can exert little or no control. Although the popular wish and feeling of Texas have heretofore been frankly and warmly expressed by her Citizens, in favour of the Measure, yet Mr Donaldson cannot have failed to perceive that the strength and ardour of that wish have been necessarily, in some degree, diminished by the delay and apparent defeat of the Measure, by the rejection of the late Treaty, by the Senate of the United States. Still, as the Measure, in the opinion of Mr Donaldson, is not lost, but destined to a speedy consummation, so far as the action of the United States can affect it, the Undersigned trusts that the doubts and disappointments experienced by the people of Texas, necessarily occasioned by the circumstances alluded to, will not have ripened into a general and insurmountable opposition to the Measure, before the consummation so confidently anticipated by Mr Donaldson.

The undersigned is instructed by the President to express his unqualified admiration of the elevated spirit of philanthropy pervading the communication of Mr Donaldson; and of the active friendship manifested by the President of the United States towards this Government, in his solemn protest and measures of opposition against the barbarous mode in which Mexico has avowed her intention to prosecute the war upon Texas.

The Undersigned avails himself, etc. etc. etc.

Signed Ebenr Allen.

The preceding Note.—important in respect both to its date and its substance, forms part of the Correspondence between the Secretary of State of Texas and Major Donaldson United States' Chargé d' Affaires, published by the Executive, in compliance with a Resolution of the Senate of the Congress of Texas, dated 20th January 1845.

I have been informed that Major Donaldson has been empowered to arrange a Treaty of Annexation with the Texan Government, on terms more favourable to this Country than the conditions proposed by the Congress of the United States.—Care has been taken to identify the interests of leading men in Texas with the success of Annexation, and active agents, are employed

in ascertaining and increasing the numerical strength of its partisans, for the day of final appeal.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

April 4th.

P. S. H. M. S. *Electra*, which bears this Despatch, waits to convey H. M's Chargé d' Affaires to Charleston. U. S.

H. M. S. *Eurydice* arrived in Galveston roads on Yesterday, from Vera Cruz. W. K.

BANKHEAD TO ELLIOTT⁴

Mexico.

8 April 1845

My Dear Sir,

I had the pleasure yesterday of receiving your letter of the 10th. Ultimo, enclosing two Despatches which you had a few days previously addressed to Lord Aberdeen.⁵

These Despatches appeared to me so important at the present juncture, when we are all busy, in trying to persuade this Government to come forward, that I communicated their contents generally to my French Colleague, and we agreed at once to call upon the Secretary of State and talk the matter over with him—for without divulging to the latter a word more than was absolutely necessary for our purpose, I felt there was enough contained in what you sent me to enable us to push matters a little faster with these folks than they might otherwise be desirous of going.—The fact is that the Ultra federal Party are pushing them hard at this moment upon the necessity of War—and they are not resolute enough to combat the attack, but seek by all sorts of palliatives to ward off the blow. To inspire them with resolution has been our object and your letters have strengthened our hands vastly.

Mr Smith's Conversations with you prove that there is a growing desire in Texas to come to some amicable Arrangement with this Country—I told Mr Cuevas so, but I took care at the same time to add, that I came to that opinion in consequence of

⁴F. O., Texas, Vol. 23.

⁵Not found, but the despatches enclosed are presumably Elliot to Aberdeen, Nos. 10 and 11, March 6 and 7, 1845. See *ante* p. 729 *seq.*

what *you* thought and wrote, founded, of course, upon what you heard at Galveston—but I did not like to compromise Mr Smith or the President by quoting them *directly*

This Government is quite ready to receive proposals from Your quarter, upon the basis of absolute Independence;—and the admission made to you by Mr. Smith, for Lord Aberdeen's Consideration, that Texas would consent to bind herself to *remain* an independent State, would tend much to facilitate matters.—As to limits—that must be an after thought—the one thing needful appears to me to be the Acknowledgment of the Independence of Texas by Mexico—how far Great Britain and France will afterwards consent to guarantee the boundaries or other collateral points, it is for those Governments to say.—*We* can do nothing without Authority.—For I well remember when Santa Anna gave me the Memorandum in November last as a basis of Negotiation, I distinctly stated that I merely took it ad referendum, and declined anticipating in any way the intentions of my Government thereupon.

It now only remains, until we hear from home, to get the two Neighbours into some state of good feeling with one another. I am quite sure any thing you might offer from Texas would be received here, always allowing these valientes to *talk* a little about derechos and patriotismo.

I am equally sure that the Congress would support Ministers in any *fair plan* for the Acknowledgment of Independence—and I hope with your influence and name, aided by Your French Colleague, you will be able to induce your friends in Texas directly or through you and Saligny, to make us an offer.

I have been unwell, and tomorrow I go for some change to the Real del Monte—but I shall be back on the 15th, when I hope to hear from you by the Eurydice—I thought it right, however, to trouble you with these few lines before I started, that you may know how we are going on, and how much we depend upon your kind and active assistance.

Charles Bankhead.

Captain Elliot. R. N.

ADDINGTON TO KENNEDY⁶

Dft.

Consul Kennedy.

Galveston

No. 3.

F. O. April 18th. 1845.

Sir,

The Earl of Aberdeen has recd your Despatch No 5 of the 26th of Feby. last, referring to a Circular issued by H. M's Consul at Charleston, on the Subject of the Sugar Duties Act of the last Session of Parliament, and to the question put to you as to the operation of that Act with respect to Sugar imported into the United Kingdom, the Growth and Produce of the Republic of Texas:—And I am directed by his Lordship to forward to you Copies of the Instructions which his Ldp' addressed to H. M's Consuls in the United States, with reference to the Sugar Duties Act of last Session⁷; and to state to you his Lordship's opinion that under the Treaty between Great Britain and Texas, Sugar the Growth and Produce of that Republic is admissible under the low Rate of Duty

H. U. Addington

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN⁸

No. 10.

Her Majesty's Consulate.

Galveston.

April 25th. 1845

My Lord,

In a Despatch which I had the honor to address to Your Lordship on the 2d Instant, transmitted by Her Majesty's Ship, *Electra*, I took leave to express the opinion that the only course now open to the Texan Executive, in regard to the question of Annexation! was "to submit it to the decision of the people."

I have now the honor to enclose a printed Copy of a Proclamation issued by the President of this Republic,⁹ summoning Con-

⁶F. O., Texas, Vol. 14.

⁷The enclosures listed are "copies of the Sugar Duties Act of the last Session of Parliament," and of circulars to consuls dated November 18 and December 24, 1844. These could not be traced.

⁸F. O., Texas, Vol. 14.

⁹Unidentified newspaper cutting, from a Galveston paper, April 22, 1845.

gress to meet on the Sixteenth day of June next, to determine upon the propositions for Annexation submitted to the President by the Chargé d' Affaires of the United States, on the 31st Ultimo.

I also beg to enclose reports of public Meetings held in the Counties of Liberty, Jefferson, Brazoria and Matagorda, indicating the bent of the popular mind in regard to the future position of this Country. So far as the United States and Texas are concerned, no one appears to doubt that Annexation is inevitable.

The French Chargé d' Affaires and Mr Ashbel Smith left Galveston for New Orleans on the 10th Instant.—After their departure, it was publicly announced that, Mr. Smith had been re-appointed Chargé d' Affaires from Texas to Great Britain and France. On the 17th Instant, a paragraph appeared in the "Texas National Register," a Newspaper of Official character, published at the Seat of Government, defending Mr Ashbel Smith against the charge of being unfriendly to Annexation, and claiming for him the credit of promoting that Measure recently, in his capacity of Secretary of State.

General Houston is named, as likely to be one of the Senators from the State of Texas, in the Congress of the United States, during the Session of 1845-6. The organs of the American democratic party mention him as a probable candidate for the Presidency of the United States, after the retirement of Mr. Polk: It has been for some time understood that this party are desirous of having a Military leader, and it is believed, that General Houston will be formally recommended to the support of the democracy by their Veteran Counsellor General Andrew Jackson.

The "Houston Telegraph" of the 23d Instant, (a pro-Annexation Journal) after expressing its regret that the President did not summon Congress to meet at an earlier day than the 16th of June, observes:—"The President, however, has doubtless good motives for delay that are yet unknown to us. We have conversed freely with the Hon. Secretary of the Treasury, and we have learned from him, with pleasure, that the President will cordially cooperate with the people in consummating the great Measure. Although he has been suffering under a severe illness, that rendered him incapable for several days of transacting business, he assured his friends that he would make every necessary exertion to expedite the Measure desired by the people."

The "Telegraph" further observes:—"The object of the Mexican Government is to lie and deceive us, and thus to delay Measures until the opponents of Annexation can gain strength to defeat the Measure. They may dupe some of our Statesmen, but they will not dupe the people of Texas. Their march is onward. Their attention is fixed upon but one object, and they are determined to consummate it, in spite of every obstacle. They have decided in favour of the Annexation of this Country to the United States, and they will proceed steadily, and with unwavering constancy, to adopt appropriate Measures to carry out their decision. The President has performed his part in calling Congress: that Congress will doubtless perform its duty by assenting to the Resolutions of the American Congress.—The next step will be to call a Convention of Delegates to form a State Constitution."

The "Telegraph" lays down the doctrine that neither the President, nor Congress, has a Constitutional right to call a Convention, or to apportion the representation; neither, it maintains,—can this right be assumed without the consent of the people. The journalist then proceeds to say:—"It is important, however, that a Convention should be held at an early day, in order that ample time may be allowed for the Delegates to form a Constitution before the approach of the Sickly Season. We approve, therefore, of the proceedings of the people of Brazoria Co."—(for which I beg to refer Your Lordship to enclosure No. 2.)—"Who have already instructed their Senators and Representatives to meet at Washington on the 3d Monday in May, and authorized them to assume Conventional powers, and, acting in concert with the Members of other Counties, to call a Convention and apportion the representation. The President, we believe, will approve this Measure, and; if adopted by a Majority of the Counties, will cordially cooperate with them in expediting the Measure necessary to effect this object. This also is the desire, we are credibly informed, of a Majority of the Members of his Cabinet."—We hope, therefore, that the Members of Congress will hasten with all speed to Washington, and make the necessary arrangements for organizing a Convention."

A Meeting of the friends of Annexation was held in the County of Harris on the 21st Instant, at which Resolutions were passed assenting to the Measure of Annexation, as proposed by the Con-

gress; and selected by the President of the United States, and expressing full confidence in the honor and justice of the American people

William Kennedy

To The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

P. S. April 26th.

Pro-Annexation Meetings have been held in the Counties of Sabine, Galveston, Harrison, and Robertson. No *Anti*-Annexation Meetings have yet been held. The Galveston Resolutions opposed to a call of Congress by the *people* for the third Monday in May.

W. K.

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT¹⁰

No. 6.¹¹

Foreign Office

May 3, 1845.

Sir,

The inclosed Copy of a Despatch which I have recently addressed to Her Majesty's Minister in Mexico together with its inclosures,¹² will put you in possession of the measures which, in concert with France, Her Majesty's Government have determined to pursue with respect to Mexico and Texas in the present position in which those Countries are assumed to be placed with regard to each other, and also to the United States.

¹⁰F. O., Texas, Vol. 21.

¹¹F. O., Texas, 21, Aberdeen to Elliot, Nos. 4 and 5, April 18, 1845, have been omitted. No. 4 related to British sugar duties and noted transmission of copies of correspondence with British consuls in the United States. No. 5 acknowledged receipt of despatches.

¹²The despatch and enclosures are all in F. O., Texas, 21, and arranged by date are:

Bankhead to Aberdeen, No. 19, March 1, 1845.

Pakenham to Aberdeen, No. 39, March 29, 1845.

Aberdeen to Cowley, No. 46, April 15, 1845.

Cowley to Aberdeen, No. 184, April 28, 1845.

Aberdeen to Bankhead, No. 15, May 1, 1845.

Bankhead's despatch notified Aberdeen that Mexico was now willing to recognize Texan independence, while Pakenham wrote of a change in the Texan attitude. Aberdeen, therefore, instructed Cowley to ask France to join in a "last chance" effort to prevent annexation, but definitely excluding any plan of war or force. France acceded and the despatch to Bankhead urged haste upon Mexico. Then two days later came the present instructions to Elliot (Nos. 6 and 7) with the plan of a "Declaration." This plan arrived too late, however, and was never presented to the Texas government. (For analysis and partial citation of documents, see Adams, *British Interests and Activities in Texas*, 203-207.)

In shaping our line of policy, as laid down in my Despatch to Mr Bankhead, we have considered the Government and people of Texas to be upon the whole well disposed to maintain their independence, provided that independence were freely and immediately recognized by Mexico.

Should circumstances have materially altered since the date of your [my] Despatch No 1 of the 23d of January; and, should the Government and people of Texas have either accepted the terms of annexation proposed by the United States, or have shown a decided inclination to annex themselves to the United States, even though Mexico were avowedly ready to recognize their independence, it will be obvious to you that in such case the course of policy which Her Majesty's Government have decided to pursue under circumstances assumed to be different, will be liable to undergo great modifications, if not a total change

It will therefore be for you, in the more correct appreciation of the actual position of affairs which you will be enabled to form when this Despatch reaches you, to determine whether, and how far, it may be expedient for you to act upon the instructions which it contained.

Assuming that no material change will have taken place, it may be useful, although the whole matter is fully set forth in my Despatch to Mr Bankhead, to state here succinctly the course of policy which Her Majesty's Government have determined to adopt. It is simply to offer, in concert with France, to Mexico and to Texas, and through the channel of the English and French Diplomatick Agents in both those Countries, the joint mediation of England and France for the equitable settlement of differences, and demarcation of Boundaries between the two Countries.

The basis of that policy is the immediate and unfettered recognition of Texas by Mexico. To attain this paramount object Great Britain has long employed her own unassisted efforts. The fatal blindness of the Mexican Government to the true interests of their Country has hitherto rendered all those efforts unavailing.

It is possible, however, that fresh representations from England and France combined may at length prevail upon the Government of Mexico to view their Situation in a correct light, and induce them to take, though late, the only step which, in the opinion of

Her Majesty's Government, can avail to rescue them from endless embarrassment.

It is not however to be expected that Mexico will consent to acknowledge Texas without having taken good security for the establishment of the common frontier of the two Countries, in a manner conformable to right and justice, and such as shall offer every element of permanency and of security against future encroachment.

With a view to ensure this essential object, the Government of Great Britain and France now come forward to offer to Mexico all the weight of their united influence, provided She agrees to recognize the independence of Texas. As, however, the present consideration of the question of frontiers would probably be attended with much delay, we propose that, that consideration should be reserved to a future but not distant moment, when, if desired by Mexico, the question of Boundaries might be treated under the joint mediation of Great Britain and France.

The Instruction addressed by Monsr Guizot to Monsr. de Saligny, of which a Copy is inclosed in my other Despatch of this date, will shew you that the French Government concur generally in this plan, and that Monsr. de Saligny is directed to concert with you, in case no material change of circumstances should have occurred, of the best mode of prevailing upon the Government of Texas to accept the proffered mediation of Great Britain and France for the Mutual settlement of their differences with Mexico, on the basis proposed

You will accordingly concert Measures with Monsr de Saligny for the accomplishment of this object.

Although the question of Boundary will not, according to this arrangement, be brought on immediately, it will be desirable that, in case Texas should accept our mediation for its Settlement, you should use every effort to impress on the Texian Government the good policy, not to say necessity, of moderating their pretensions with respect to their common boundary with Mexico. It would not accord with the principles of justice, by which the Mediating Powers must regulate their conduct, to countenance the demand by Texas of a line of frontier to which it would have obviously as little founded in right, and to which She might lay claim

merely on the ground of expediency without reference to the rights of Mexico.

In all reasonable and equitable pretensions Her Majesty's Government will be found well-disposed to support the Texian Government.

In case, at the period of the arrival of these instructions, circumstances should still, as we hope, be such as to admit of your carrying them into effect, in conjunction with your French Colleague, you will consider yourself at full liberty to open a communication with Mr Bankhead in any Measure which you may deem best for accelerating the attainment of the object entrusted equally to both Missions.

Aberdeen.

Captain Elliot, R. N.

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT¹³

No. 7.

Foreign Office.

May 3. 1845

Sir,

Mr. Guizot having signified to M. de Saligny in the Instruction, of which a Copy¹⁴ is herewith inclosed, and which was put into my hands, by M. Guizot's Orders, by the French Ambassador at this Court, the concurrence of the French Government in the proposition submitted to them on the part of Her Majesty's Government for bringing about by their united efforts, an adjustment of the differences between Mexico and Texas, I transmit to you herewith a Copy of the Declaration which Her Majesty's Government proposed through Lord Cowley should be conjointly presented by the English and French Chargé d' Affaires in Texas to that Government for their acceptance and signature.

Provided, therefore, circumstances remain in the state assumed in my Despatch No 6 of this date, you will invite the French Chargé d' Affaires, to join you in presenting this Declaration to the Texian Secretary of State for the acceptance of his Government.

As the Declaration contains nothing more than an engagement on the part of Great Britain and France to employ their best

¹³F. O., Texas, Vol. 21.

¹⁴Guizot to Saligny, April 27, 1845. The copy was not found.

efforts to restore peace between Mexico and Texas, and to procure the recognition of the Texian Republick by Mexico; together with an engagement on the part of Texas to use every effort to maintain her Independence, I do not apprehend that you will experience any difficulty in procuring the assent of the Texian Government to the terms of the Declaration in question

Aberdeen.

Captain Elliot, R. N.

[Enclosure].

Draft.

*Declaration*¹⁵

Her Majesty The Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and His Majesty the King of the French being strongly impressed with the importance of restoring Peace between the Republick of Texas and the Mexican Republick and of the establishment and preservation of the Republick of Texas as an Independent State under her own national Govt.; Their said Majesties have respectively authorized the Undersigned Elliot Her Britannick Majesty's [chargé d' affaires] and—to declare that their said Majesties engage to use their best exertions with a view to the restoration of Peace at the earliest possible period, and to the recognition of the Independence of the Republick of Texas by the Mexican Republick.

And the President of the Republick of Texas, has, on his part authorized the Undersigned to declare on the other hand that the Govt of Texas will use every effort to maintain the independence of the Republick under its own separate and national Jurisdiction.

In witness whereof the Undersd. sign the present Declaration and have affixed thereto the seals of their arms.

Done at.....the....day of.....in the Year of Our Lord. 1845.

[Endorsed.]. Draft.

Declaration.

¹⁵Blank spaces left for signatures of Saligny and the President, and for date and place.

MILLER TO STEWART¹⁶

A Copy.

To.

Mr. H. Stewart

Editor of the Civilian

New Orleans May 9th 1845.

My dear Sir,

From the synopsis of General Houston's speech last night at the Arcade, as it appears in some of the Morning papers of this City, of this date, it might possibly be inferred that he had stated that he had during his presidency been dealing unfairly in his diplomatic intercourse with the European Governments.

This inference would be unjust, and not properly deducible from any thing he said on the occasion referred to. On the contrary he used the opportunity to pay a deserved tribute to the disinterested and open positions and actions of those Governments towards Texas throughout her existence as a Nation. He said, however, that upon the subject of Annexation, he had *coquetted* a little with the United States, upon the principle that a Manifestation of over anxiety would not hasten, but retard the accomplishment of the measure. The term *coquetting* was *not* applied to England or France but to the United States, and used only as a means of inducing them the more readily to embrace and carry out Annexation

Signed W. D. Miller.

The foregoing is a true Copy of the original

Signed Robert D. Johnson.

Copy.

Charles Elliot.

BANKHEAD TO ELLIOT¹⁷

Mexico.

20th May 1845.

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit to you, for communication to the President of Texas, a Document containing a full acceptance

¹⁶This letter was enclosed in F. O., Texas, 16, Elliot to Aberdeen, Private, March 27, 1846, but is here inserted in its chronological order.

¹⁷F. O., Texas, Vol. 23. Elliot was still in Mexico at the time this letter was written. The enclosed document, he therefore personally carried back to Texas.

on the part of the President of this Republic, and signed by Don Luis Cuevas, Secretary of State—of the proposals sent from Texas for the acknowledgment of the Independence of the latter Power.

You will lose no time on your arrival at Galveston to place this important paper in the hands of Mr. President Jones—and you will be good enough to point out to His Excellency that his proposals are returned to him word for word as he entrusted them to your care.

It is a matter of regret to the French Minister and Myself that so much time has elapsed between the presentation of the Articles to this Government—and the moment of their acceptance—but you are too well acquainted with the dilatory habits of Spaniards and Spanish Americans not to be able to explain this Circumstance to the President—The result, however, is very satisfactory, for while Señor Cuevas has thought it necessary to accompany his Signature with some observations, he has not hesitated strictly to incorporate the four Articles in his Communication, and the remarks he makes therewith are of no consequence whatever.—There are two Documents which I sent to you and which have reference to the four Articles. They are, however sent separately, and you will, I doubt not, be able to satisfy the President that they are pressed upon us for the purpose of saving their exaggerated notions of honour and pride.—and not intended by the Mexican Government as in the slightest degree disrespectful to Texas.

The President of Mexico is most anxious that Your best exertions should be used, in conjunction with your French Colleague, that in the Proclamation, which it is hoped Mr Jones will issue immediately upon your arrival, care will be taken that the terms employed therein are general—and as much as possible in conformity with those adopted in the “*Imcativa*” [*Iniciativa*] proposed to this Congress.—as should,—most unfortunately, the Congress of Texas defeat the views of Mr President Jones, and accept the *égide* of the United States in preference to National Independence, it would seriously compromise this Government in their view of the case, if any premature disclosure were made and afterwards disavowed—for this purpose perhaps, a confidential Communication of the enclosed Papers to the President and Government of Texas would be best. Your experience of the Country

and it's Rulers constitutes you as the best Judge of how the Affair can best be managed.

The second wish of this Government is as follows, and is equally left to the exertion of your good offices. That the Person or Persons who may be sent from Texas shall be of a conciliatory disposition, and that at the moment of his or their departure he or they shall take the name of Commissioner or Commissioners—and that the instant the Negotiations commence they will bring forward their title of Plenipotentiary.—I am assured that they will be received here with an earnest desire to establish relations between the two Countries upon a basis of good will and mutual advantage.

The Baron Cyprey writes by this Conveyance to the President Jones—I prefer requesting you to be the interpreter to His Excellency of my best wishes for the early and satisfactory conclusion of this long pending question—and I further beg of you to assure His Excellency that my best endeavours will be used in promoting the establishment of a lasting peace between the two Countries—and of aiding the Texan Plenipotentiary in the exertions for that purpose.

You will be good enough to communicate to me any information which you may from time to time think will be useful here.

Charles Bankhead.

Captain Elliot.

P. S. Since writing the above, Señor Cuevas informed Me that the enclosed Declaration contains all his resolution.

C. B.

[Enclosure to Mr. Bankhead's Despatch to Lord Aberdeen.

No. 148. Mexico 20th May 1845.]¹⁸

The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Mexican Republick has received from Texas the preliminary conditions of an arrangement or definitive Treaty between Mexico and Texas—which are of the following tenour.

- 1st. Mexico consents to acknowledge the Independence of Texas.
- 2nd. Texas engages that She will stipulate in the Treaty, not to annex herself or become subject to any Country whatever

¹⁸F. O., Mexico, Vol. 185. This document is printed in U. S. Docs., Ser. No. 480, Doc. 2, p. 70 *seq.*, but is here reprinted because of the slightly different wording of Bankhead's translation, and the additional signatures.

3rd. Limits and other conditions to be matter of arrangement in the final Treaty.

4th. Texas will be willing to remit disputed points respecting territory and other matters to the arbitration of umpires.

The Government of the Republick has in consequence asked for the Authority from Congress which the latter has granted and which is as follows.

His Excellency the President has thought fit to publish the following decree

Jose J. Herrera. General of Division and President of the Mexican Republick to its Inhabitants, gives Notice, that the General Congress has decreed and the Executive Government Sanctioned what follows.

The Government has been authorized to listen to the propositions made by Texas, and to enter into an arrangement or make such a Treaty as shall be fit and honourable for the Republick, communicating it to Congress for their examination and approval.

Miguel Atristaiv—President of Chamber of Deputies.

Juan Rodriguez—President of Senate.

Francisco Calderon—Secretary of Chamber of Deputies.

J. J. Rosas—Secretary of Senate.

National Palace 17 May 1845.

J. J. Herrera—L. G. Cuevas.

In consequence of the preceding Authority granted by the Congress of the Republick of Mexico.—the Undersigned Minister for Foreign Affairs declares by Order of the President—that the Supreme Government accept the four above mentioned Articles as preliminary to a formal and definite Treaty; And moreover that they are disposed to commence the Negociation in the way desired by Texas—and to receive the Commissioner or Commissioners that Texas may with this view appoint

Luis Cuevas.

[Enclosure to Mr. Bankhead's Despatch to Lord Aberdeen

No 148 Mexico 20th May 1845].

Translation.

(Additional Declaration)

It is understood that besides the four preliminary Articles

proposed by Texas, there are other essential and important points which ought also to be included in the Negotiation and that if this Negotiation is not realized on account of circumstances, or because Texas influenced by the Law passed in the United States on Annexation, should consent thereto—either directly or indirectly, then the answer which under this date is given to Texas by the Undersigned Minister of Foreign Affairs shall be considered as null and void.

Mexico. May 19. 1845.

(Signed) Luis. G. Cuevas.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹⁹

No. 13.

Her Majestys Consulate
Galveston
May 21st 1845.

My Lord,

I have the honor to enclose a Copy of a Proclamation signed by the President of this Republic on the 6th Instant, recommending the people to elect delegates to a Convention on the 4th of next month, the said convention to assemble at Austin on the 4th of July, for the purpose of taking prompt and definite action upon the proposition for Annexation. This Proclamation has been defended by General Houston and approved by the Mass of the people.

The Congress convened for the 16th of next Month is not expected to be in Session more than a few days. Its principal business will be to signify its assent to the Resolution for Annexation presented by the Government of the United States.

On the 12th Inst. an American Squadron, under the Command of Commodore Stockton,²⁰ arrived in Galveston Roads, from Norfolk in Virginia. The Squadron, which still remains here, consists of the Princeton, War Steamer, the Sloops of War Saint Mary and Saratoga, and the Brig Porpoise, mounting in all, Sixty guns.—The Porpoise has entered Galveston Harbour, having been previously relieved of her battery by the Princeton.

It is authoritatively stated that, in completing Annexation, the

¹⁹F. O., Texas, Vol 14.

²⁰Robert Field Stockton of the U. S. Navy. His vessel, the "Princeton," bore the annexation resolutions to the Texan government.

United States will not be satisfied with less than the whole of the territory claimed by Texas,—namely to the Rio Grande.

I beg to enclose a Copy of a letter published in the "Galveston Civilian," on the 17th Instant,²¹ by desire of General Houston.—General Houston is at present in Galveston, waiting, with his family, for the departure of the New Orleans Steamer, being on his way to visit General Andrew Jackson, at his residence near Nashville, Tennessee.

William Kennedy

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN²²

No. 16.

On board the Brig of
His Majesty The King of The French
"La Perouse"

May 30th 1845.

My Lord,

In the possibility that a Steam Vessel may be departing for New Orleans when I reach the shore, and with the hope of saving the Mail of the 16th. June, I have the honour of preparing this despatch respecting my return to this place.

Having had no communication as yet with the shore I am unable to afford Your Lordship any information respecting the Condition of circumstances and feeling in this Country, but I shall of course not lose one moment in placing myself in personal communication with the Government, and I hope I shall be able to induce the President forthwith to proclaim the preliminaries of peace

Before I leave this Vessel I feel it incumbent upon myself to

²¹See p. 167. Miller to Stewart, May 9, 1845.

²²F. O., Texas, Vol. 13. Elliot had embarked at Galveston on the British ship of war *Electra*, nominally going to Charleston, S. C. When out of sight of land, he transferred to the *Eurydice*, and reached Vera Cruz, April 11. Thence he proceeded to the capital, and once there Bankhead took charge of affairs and pressed the Mexican government to accede to the Texan proposals. A long delay followed, and much hesitation, irritating to Bankhead. Late in April, Elliot went to Jalapa, near Vera Cruz, and waited for the Mexican decision, which Bankhead was finally able to send him on May 20. Elliot sailed for Texas on the French ship *La Perouse*, and reached Galveston on May 30. Since Bankhead was the British diplomat in charge in Mexico, Elliot did not report to Aberdeen the details of this negotiation in Mexico. These are to be found in Bankhead's reports, F. O., Mexico, 185.

express to Your Lordship my cordial obligations to M. le Commandant Dubremil for the kindness he has been so good as to extend to me. May I hope Your Lordship will take the occasion of this Zealous participation in a Service of some public moment to recommend to the protection of The King's Government, an old and distinguished Officer in His Majesty's Service.

Charles Elliot.

To The Right Honourable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

P. S. Galveston May 31st. 1845.

Since I have landed here I learn that the friends of Annexation have succeeded in exciting a hot, and apparently general feeling in favour of their project, and it is no doubt to be feared that the concessions of the Mexican Government will have come too late to act successfully upon the people of this Country. Their humour however is variable, and reflection may yet restore them to a sounder sense of what is best for their own interests. I abstain, however, from dwelling upon such topics till I have had an opportunity of conversing with the President at Washington, to which place I proceed by the boat tomorrow morning in company with M. le Commandant Dubremil, who has a letter from the Baron Alleye de Cypres to His Excellency. The Baron had left it to himself to deliver it in person, or not, as he should judge best, and he has been so good as to accede to my suggestions that it would be desirable to do so.

Charles Elliot.

Major Donnelson the Charge d' Affaires from the United States arrived here this morning from New Orleans.

KENNEDY TO ADDINGTON²³

No 14.

Her Majesty's Consulate
Galveston

May 30th. 1845.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch No 3 of the 18th of April, (with enclosures) communicating the opinion of the Earl of Aberdeen that, under the Treaty between

²³F. O., Texas, Vol. 14.

Great Britain and Texas, Sugar, the growth and produce of the Republic, is admissible into the ports of the United Kingdom at the low rate of duty—and I beg leave to inform you that I have taken means to bring His Lordship's opinion under the notice of the planting and Mercantile interests of this Country.

William Kennedy.

Henry U. Addington, Esqr.

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT²⁴

Consular.

Foreign Office.

No. 1.

June 3d. 1845.

Sir,

I have received your Despatch marked "Separate" of the 4th Ultimo,²⁵ alleging that Mr Kennedy had "behaved to you with great disrespect"—that his Conduct had been so highly "improper that you would have been justified in suspending him at once," that he is not a suitable "person for employment in Her Majesty's Service"; that you have "not the least Confidence in his prudence, or right feeling," that you are "sensible that he is quite capable of making some mischievous publication on the spot," or of otherwise creating public "inconvenience," and, finally suggesting that he should be at once recalled.

I regret that you should have thought it your duty to make Charges so serious against Mr Kennedy without adducing any sufficient evidence in justification of them. I regret also the tone in which those Charges are made. You have, moreover, entirely misapprehended your own position and authority, in supposing that you have the power to suspend a person who has been appointed by The Queen to reside and act as Her Majesty's Consul at Galveston.

I have to desire that you will furnish me, at your earliest convenience, with specific information, supported by evidence and

²⁴F. O., Texas, Vol. 21.

²⁵Elliot's charges against Kennedy and the correspondence relating thereto were transcribed by the copyist, but were withdrawn by the censors of the foreign office, presumably under the rule that letters containing reflections on individuals are not to be copied. It may be of interest to note as indicating the liberality of the Public Record Office, and of the foreign office, in opening archives to historical research, that this was the only instance in connection with the publication of this Texan material, in which the censors withdrew the correspondence.

statements of fact, upon each of the Charges which you have preferred against Mr. Kennedy, in order that I may be enabled to judge what Measures it may be right that I should adopt in this matter.

Aberdeen.

Captain Elliot, R. N.

KENNEDY TO ADDINGTON²⁶

No 15.

Her Majesty's Consulate
Galveston
June 10th 1845

Sir

I have the honor to inform you that the Prince of Solms left Galveston for New Orleans on the 4th Instant, on his return to Europe.

The Prince has succeeded (though not without a considerable outlay, owing, as I conceive, in a great degree, to a defect in the original arrangements of the German Association) in planting a Colony, numbering six hundred Souls, on a beautiful and productive tract of land, situated about fifteen Miles above Seguin, a village on the Guadalupe river of Western Texas. The name given to this German Settlement is New Braunfels.—Provided with farming implements and having a sufficient quantity of land under cultivation to furnish subsistence for the ensuing year, the future progress of the Colony may be considered easy and certain.

The Settlers have neither been molested by Indians, nor visited by sickness,—which may fairly be ascribed to the judicious arrangements of the Prince of Solms, who has encountered the difficulties of his arduous undertaking with a measure of patience, perseverance, and foresight which I believe but few Europeans would have been prepared to manifest, under the same circumstances.

William Kennedy.

Henry U. Addington, Esqr.

²⁶F. O., Texas, Vol. 13.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN²⁷

No. 17.

Galveston June 12th 1845

My Lord,

The inclosed Copy of my despatch of yesterday's date to Mr Bankhead with the accompanying Copy of a private letter of the same date to him will I believe place Your Lordship in full possession of the state of circumstances here at the present moment. Those communications left these roads this afternoon in the Corvette of His Majesty The King of the French the "La Perouse" and I should hope would be in Mexico by the 22d Instant.

The unexpected departure of the Steamboat to New Orleans tomorrow morning will be my excuse for the few observations I can add to the information contained in the despatches to Mexico. But I cannot refrain from expressing the hope that the altered situation of Mexico, as respects the offer of a just settlement of this dispute will facilitate the preservation of peace in this question, and prevent the intended dismemberment of that Republic.

Whatever of plea or pretext may be strained to vindicate the annexation of the Country in the actual occupation of the Texians to the United States and howsoever practicable or otherwise that may be, it seems totally impossible to divine the grounds which are to justify the seizure of an immense territory by the United States in which the Texians have never had a Settler. For surely not much more serious attention can be given to the present Texian legislative limitation, than to the Act passed through both Houses of Congress and vetoed by General Houston in his first administration, carrying the Western boundary of this Republic to the Shores of the Pacific! If the present limits were admitted for one moment, something might soon be heard of General Houston's unconstitutional exercise of the Veto power on that and many other occasions, and of the right inherent in the people to correct the consequences of that arbitrary conduct, and reannex the whole Country involved by Congress in the law in question. In every view that I have been able to take of this very serious question I cannot but think that the recent policy of Mexico, unfortunately tardy as it has been, has still materially and advantageously altered her Situation. And turning to Your Lordship's instructions of

²⁷F. O. Texas, Vol. 13.

the 3d May I hope it will be satisfactory to Her Majesty's Government that there has not been the least departure from the principles upon which they were founded, as to the careful absence of any thing in the nature of guarantee, or pledge of assistance, to either party in this contest.

The tone of the President's proclamation²⁸ herewith forwarded will also I trust be agreeable to Her Majesty's Government. It may probably produce considerable effect amongst portion of the people of the United States, and in the difficult circumstances that he is placed, it is not more than truth and justice to say that he has acted with courage, honour, and prudence. The approaching Convention, (perfectly irregular and beyond the Law of itself, assembled to take into consideration the extinction of the Nationality of the Country, and with it the violation of their compacts, direct and implied, with the powers with which they have treaties,) appears to me to be a state of things that had better not have the countenance of any Foreign representative accredited to this Republic; (I mean by countenance, such assent as might be inferred from his presence,) and I shall therefore set out for the United States as soon after the assembly of Congress on the 16th Inst. as I can conveniently get away.

In the brief Note I shall address to the Government on my departure, I shall attribute it to infirm health, which indeed is my sufficient excuse for leaving this part of the Continent without delay. I am also sensible that my continued presence here during the discussions in the Convention would be attended with mischievous rather than advantageous consequences, and I trust my departure will have Your Lordship's approbation. I avail myself of this occasion to acknowledge Your Lordship's despatches to the 3d May, but what has already been accomplished, and the present temper of this people necessarily relieve me from any movement in the sense of those Instructions.

Charles Elliot.

²⁸The *National Register*, Extra, June 6, 1845.

JONES TO ELLIOT²⁹

[Enclosure.]

Copy.

Charles Elliot.

(Private)

Washington,

June 6th. 1845

My Dear Sir,.

I send you enclosed herewith a Despatch from the Baron Aeley de Cyprey. The package for him contains a letter of acknowledgment for his courtesy and kindness, together with a properly Certified Copy of the Proclamation, and some printed Copies, attested by myself in the same manner as those herewith enclosed for your own use

I have as you will perceive made some slight alterations in the Proclamation from the first Copy, but none I think which you will dislike.

Would it not be well that Mexico should make a *formal* declaration of a Cessation of hostilities on her part? I think it would be well although I consider her Assent to the preliminaries, necessarily presupposes, and promises such Cessation. But the people here would be more satisfied and feel more secure if the declaration was made formal and public.

The Bearer of this will be with you on Monday or Tuesday at farthest and will return immediately to this place. Please write by him.

It strikes me that the question of Annexation or Independence will come up to be *decided* by the people of Texas only when the Vote is taken on the ratification of the Constitution which will be proposed by the Convention. This Vote will probably be taken in September or October next. What the state of public feeling may be at that time it is impossible to determine. I do not even presume to "guess"

(Signed) Anson Jones.

To Captain Charles Elliot.

[Endorsed.] Inclosure No. 2 in Captn Elliot's Despatch to The Earl of Aberdeen No. 17 June 12th. 1845.

²⁹F. O., Texas, Vol. 13.

ELLIOT TO BANKHEAD²⁰

[Enclosure]

Copy.

Galveston

June 11th. 1845.

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you that I arrived here on the 31st. Ultimo, and proceeding immediately to Washington, placed the preliminary Conditions in the hands of the President of Texas on the evening of the 2d Instant. His Excellency told me that the general state of popular excitement in favour of Annexation, so little looked for three months since, could be no sufficient motive with him for failing to fulfil what he felt to be his obligations towards his own Country, towards Mexico, and towards the Powers who had interested themselves in the peaceful and honourable adjustment of this struggle; and that he should therefore, in the course of a day or two, issue a Proclamation, making known the actual situation of affairs with Mexico to the people of this Country, and leaving it to them and their Constitutional Agents to dispose of the result as they should judge best.

With respect to the additional declaration made by the Government of Mexico, he had no hesitation so far as depended upon the Executive, in accepting it. That is, in express terms, he adhered to the declaration he had formerly made to M. de Saligny and myself as to the willingness of this Government to stipulate an indemnity in the final treaty, if the limitary conditions were satisfactory, and he certainly could offer no just objection to the other reservation made by the Secretary of State to Mexico in the contingency of movement in the direction of annexation. But with no firm belief in the final completion of that scheme (for the difficulties appeared to be very great, if not insuperable, both here and in the United States,) he cordially hoped that the Ministers of the two Powers would be able to induce the Government of Mexico peacefully to wait the turn of events.

Concerning the appointment of Commissioners to proceed to Mexico, he thought it must be unnecessary to say that in the present temper of the public, and with the close assembly of Congress, such a step would be unsuitable and mischievous; but he

²⁰F. O., Texas, Vol. 13.

might soon be in a situation to adopt that course, and in that case, it might be depended upon that he would have careful regard to your suggestions. I said I was gratified to hear that His Excellency had resolved to publish the Proclamation, but I could not conceal from him my own impression that what had taken place with the authority of the Government since the month of March last when he had placed the Preliminaries in our hands was enough to justify the Government of Mexico in declaring their acceptance of them to be null and void; and further that the course pursued in Texas had left it perfectly open to the Government of Mexico forthwith to take what steps they saw fit for the safety and rights of the Country.

The President told me that he had convened Congress and recommended a Convention in the plain perception that no other means were left to him of averting bad and irreparable consequences. He had no doubt that He had acted wisely for the well understood interests of this Country in those particulars; and he could further assure me that the course most ardently desired by the partizans of annexation here and elsewhere was military movement beyond the Rio Grande by Mexico. Such a step would immediately and decisively accomplish the measure. I remarked that the policy to be pursued by Mexico was a subject to which I was not competent to speak, but I thought it possible that the Ministers of the two Powers might endeavour to induce the Government of Mexico to refrain from onward movement, till some final decision was taken by the people of Texas, as long as this Government and people were confining themselves within the limits of their present occupation. That, however, was mere private and personal opinion upon my part, and the President would have the goodness only to accept it in that sense.

The Proclamation has reached me this day, and I am only prevented from forwarding the Despatches to the "La Perouse" at once, by the unfavourable state of the weather which prevents communication. The Copy herewith transmitted is attested by the President himself. So far as I can observe there is no remission as yet of this feverish excitement in favour of annexation, provoked and kept alive by extraneous agency, and, judging from present appearances, there can be little doubt that the annexation resolutions will be adopted both by Congress and the Convention.

But it may I think, be depended upon that the late policy of Mexico, and the present attitude of this Government will have greatly increased the difficulties of the annexation party here, and, most particularly, in the United States.

With firm adherence on the part of Mexico to the protest against annexation, active preparations for defence, and the continued exhibition of the offer of Settlement on the basis of Independence till some decisive action is completed by the people of Texas in the sense of annexation, (unless some forward movement should be made by them beyond the limits of their present occupation, or by the Troops of the U. S. into Texas,) I trust that this very serious business may yet be adjusted advantageously and satisfactorily.

My last despatches from England are of the 3rd May inclosing me Copies of those to you of the 1st Idem: But what has already been accomplished, and the present temper of the public here, relieve us from any necessity of movement at this point under those Instructions

The President desires me to convey to you his best thanks for your kind and able interposition in the negotiations at Mexico.

Signed Charles Elliot.

To His Excellency, Charles Bankhead.

Mexico.

[Endorsed.] Inclosure No 1 in Captain Elliot's Despatch to The Earl of Aberdeen. No 17. June 12. 1845

ELLIOT TO BANKHEAD³¹

[Enclosure].

Copy.

Galveston

Private

June 11th. 1845.

My dear Mr Bankhead.,

Beyond the information furnished in my despatch I have to tell you that the President described the state of feeling here to be that of fever, and like all fevers he said it must run it's course for good or for evil.

He ascribed the sudden and general spread of the disease to

³¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 13.

the alarm excited at Washington (D. C.) by the Anti Annexation Articles in the Government Newspaper, which had led to an influx of Agents specially charged to work upon the people and damage his influence. His simple chance of useful intervention depended in his mind, upon complete abstinence from opposition just now. That would be futile or indeed worse, would fan the flare.

But he thought he observed symptoms of an abatement of the excitement already, and he requested me to conjure the Baron and yourself to keep Mexico from any kind of onward Movement. Such a step he says, would be fatal to the prospect, and the good prospects of averting all this mischief.

I should tell you that I learnt as soon as I landed from a source of information entirely to be depended upon that Commodore Stockton was using every effort to induce the President to issue a Proclamation calling out Volunteers for the purpose of occupy-the Country *to the Rio Grande at once*.

The President frankly admitted to me that such was the case, and told me (I use his own words as nearly as I can remember them) that he said to those parties "I see not one single motive for Annexation if it is not for security and protection, or if we are *to do our own fighting*, and I tell you plainly that I will not be made the scape goat in such an affair as you have proposed to me. The United States Government must take all the responsibility, and all the expence and all the labour of hostile movements upon Mexico. I will issue no Proclamation of the kind, you wish, and authorize no movement *unless Mexico makes a movement upon us*. Somebody else must break up the state of peace. It shall not be me." You will see by the Proclamation that he has kept his word, and I remark already that it is a heavy blow to the violent partizans of the scheme here. Donnelson who arrived from the U. S. the day after I got here, and who I met on his way to Washington will probably enough disavow Stockton and at all events the Proclamation will be a sad disappointment to him, for he will be able to judge of it's effect on the wise portion of the people of the U. S.

I see good reason to think, however, that the Mexican Governt should concentrate force on the line of the Rio Grande as soon as possible, and do what may be practicable without a moment's delay to protect Matamoras against a Coup de Main. I believe

too it would also be well to turn up breast works at the Brassos Santiago, and mount a few heavy guns and Mortars there. I should also particularly suggest that a very careful watch should be had on movements from this quarter on the Commachee and other frontier tribes. I make little or no doubt that they would attempt to tamper with them, and I am also strongly inclined to believe that Stockton's force here has a large supply of arms and ammunition ready for distribution amongst this people.

But if I may venture to offer an opinion I think it would be very unwise of Mexico to take the initiative in hostile or onward movements. That step should be left to the Government of the U. S. which will find it no easy or irresponsible affair during the recess of Congress and in the entirely altered attitude of Mexico as respects Texas, with a closely divided state of parties in their own Country upon the subject, and indeed serious divisions in their own ranks in regards to it.

I forward herewith for the Baron's and your own perusal a copy of a private letter which I have this morning received from the President, and I take the liberty to suggest that it might be of advantage if the Mexican Govermt. would forthwith issue a Proclamation declaring that no onward movements would be made whilst none were made by the Texians, or U. S. troops; that is, in the present state of the relations between the two Countries.

Saligny is at New Orleans and writes to me that he thinks it best in the present state of affairs to remain there till he has received answers to his despatches of the 3d April, which may be looked for by the "Great Western" on the 9th or 10th Inst. He has begged Elliot³² to remain for him at the Mouth of the Mississippi till that date. The "Great Western" will bring dates of the 14th or 15th Ult. I should mention that the President told me in confidence that a considerable number of the Delegates to the Convention ostensibly favourable to Annexation, were not at *all so in reality*, and would go there steadily determined to send such a Constitution to the U. S. as would not be accepted by that Legislature. I give it to you as he said it to me, but can offer no opinion upon the possibility of the Statement

The pinch of the question will be in the U. S. next Session,

³²Captain George Elliot of H. M. S. *Eurydice*.

and if Mexico is *firm* and *moderate*, She will avoid this danger. Houston is gone to New Orleans and the *Hermitage* to sound the depths in those quarters, and calculates his chance of running for President in succession to Polk, and I shall think it very wonderful if they do not continue to catch him, and throw him over afterwards, adroit as he is. He is a fellow of infinite resource too, and under the cards he may be working the right way to get. It would be like him. The American force here consists of "Princeton" (Steamer) "Saratoga" and St. Mary's Corvettes of 20 guns each, and Porpoise 10 gun brig. Their main business here is to, spend money or as they have it in the U. S. to "*log roll*."

I beg to mention to you that I am on the point of leaving this Country for I really do not think it proper to remain here whilst this Convention is sitting. The Measure is purely revolutionary, and I see not suitable excuse for remaining in Texas whilst the people are unlawfully, or at all events beyond the Law, debating upon the extinction of their Nationality, and the violation of their compacts with the Powers who have treated with them. My health too is shaken heavily, and I have private distresses with which I will not trouble you, but they are sad to bear.

If the Governt. of Mexico have anything to communicate to this Governt. under present Circumstances, I would suggest that it had better be done directly through the General Officer in Command of the Army of the North, and if this Government should happily defeat the Annexation Scheme, they will be able to communicate freely and directly. Till that Scheme is thrust further back than it stands at present, I do not think it right to remain here. The President has behaved as well as he could, and I hope the Governt of Mexico will carry on any Communications they may have with this Governt. in a conciliatory spirit and respectful terms. It would be sound policy to do so, and a contrary course would help their enemies.

Very kind regards to Mr [Mrs.] Bankhead and Doyle if you please, with a thousand Compliments to the Baron and his family.

Very sincerely yours.

Charles Elliot.

P. S. I have just recd. a line from Saligny dated 9th June. The Despatches by "Great Western" were looked for hourly, and

he would come on by "Eurydice." The President begged me most particularly to remind the Baron and yourself that the *Memorandum of our Conference* should be *kept secret*.

To Charles Bankhead, Esqr Mexico.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN³³

No. 18.

Galveston.

June 15. 1845.

My Lord,

Since I had the honour of addressing Your Lordship on the 12th Inst. I have had an attack of Ague and fever, and finding that the best chance of interrupting this disorder and restoring myself to a fit state for Service is by immediate change, I propose to go to New Orleans by the Steam Boat which has been delayed here till today. I shall wait there for [until?] the President's Message has reached me, and if there should be anything [nothing?] to detain me to the Southward in the circumstances arising out of the Assembly of Congress I shall venture to proceed forthwith to New York, holding myself in constant readiness to return here whenever that step may be necessary or desirable.

The state of my health should not have induced me to leave Texas at present if I did not feel that there can be no reasonable doubt as to the course of the present Congress respecting annexation, and renewed reflection has strengthened me in the impression that I had better not be here at the period of their formal action upon this subject, be it what it may. The continued presence of the American Naval force named in the margin,³⁴ off this Bar, and the circumstances, leave me without doubt that it is the settled purpose of the Government of the United States to avail themselves of any opportunity or pretext to take Military possession of this part of the Country, at least, and by that step so far to commit the two Governments and Legislatures as to diminish all risk of retractation or disturbance here or in their own Country

But I will not dismiss this topic without taking the liberty to repeat an opinion I have in another place expressed to Your Lord-

³³F. O., Texas, Vol. 13.

³⁴*Princeton* (Steamer), *St. Mary's* and *Saratoga* (Corvettes), and *Porpoise* (Brig).

ship—; that is, that Mexico has much more efficacious Means of responding formidably to forcible aggression by the United States than seems to be generally contemplated here or there. There is more of aptitude in the United States for the accession of territory on that Side, by the mode of gradual encroachment in the unsettled Countries, than by regular Military operations and conquest. And if the policy and resources of Mexico are judiciously directed to prevent the first and arrest the last, I think that the result of regular Military modes of proceeding will not answer the expectation of the persons and councils in the United States intending the forcible dismemberment of the Mexican Confederacy. The danger to Mexico from the United States is in the Settler, and intrigue and conspiracy, not in their Armies and Navies, and the true point to be watched, and placed on a safe footing at once, I am strongly inclined to believe, is Upper California.

Texas, in the actual occupation of the Texians, cannot be safely disturbed by Mexico, and the Country beyond those limits as far as the Rio Grande, is for the most part perfectly desert, and unfit either for settlement, or protracted Military operations. If the Texians and Americans are betrayed as far as the Rio Grande in pursuit of their Aggressive Schemes there may be less difficulty in effectually checking them than is generally believed.

Charles Elliot.

To the Right Honourable,

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN³⁵

No. 16.

Her Majesty's Consulate
Galveston

June 24th 1845.

My Lord,

In the absence of Her Majesty's Charge d' Affaires who left Galveston for New Orleans on the 15th Instant, accompanied by Mr John Macdougall, I have the honor to inform your Lordship that the Congress of Texas (which assembled on the 16th Instant,) has passed a Joint Resolution accepting the proposition for Annexation submitted to the Texan government by the Government of the United States.

³⁵F. O., Texas, Vol. 14.

I beg leave to enclose a printed Copy of the Joint Resolution³⁶ passed by the Congress of Texas, relative to Annexation.

Another Joint Resolution has passed the Texan Congress, authorizing the introduction of United States' troops into Texas.

It is understood that Military occupation will be taken of the tract of Country lying between the Nueces and the Rio Grande; for the purpose of making the latter river the boundary between Mexico and Texas.

William Kennedy

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

BANKHEAD TO ELLIOT³⁷

[Enclosure].

Mexico

June 29—1845.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatches of the 11th Instant containing the Proclamation of Mr President Jones on the receipt of H. Ey. of the preliminary Articles of which you were the bearer.—It is very gratifying to find that the tenour of this Document is so conciliatory towards Mexico, and evidently by it's language desirous of cultivating Peace and Goodwill, rather than the alternative of Annexation.

Senor Cuevas's mind had been much disturbed by the exaggerated Statements he had received respecting the State of Affairs in Texas but I was fortunately enabled by your valuable assistance to calm down his excited feelings, while, at the same time, I strenuously, and I think with success, conjured him to allow no false or interested statement to urge this Government into any onward, or unfriendly Step while the Measure respecting Texas is pending—but to wait calmly for the decision of the Convention, which by a letter you were so good as to send for Monsieur de Cyprey's and my information, is not likely to take place before October.

I am endeavouring to induce this Government to issue a Proclamation for a Cessation of hostilities, in return for that so spontaneously made by the President of Texas

³⁶Not found.

³⁷F. O., Texas, Vol. 13. This and the following letter are here placed in correct chronological order, though not received and transmitted by Elliot until August, owing to his absence from Texas.

And Mr Cuevas assured me that no language but that of Conciliation would be used in accompanying the publication of the latter Document in the Government paper here.

Charles Bankhead.

Copy remaining with my papers.
Captain Charles Elliot.

[Endorsed.] Inclosure No 1 in Capt Elliot's Despatch No. 23. to the Earl of Aberdeen. August. 13. 1845.

BANKHEAD TO ELLIOT³⁸

[Enclosure]

Mexico.

June 29. 1845

Sir,

It is with deep regret I learn from your private letter that you think it expedient to leave Texas during the Sitting of the Convention

I am sure you will pardon my earnestly requesting you to reconsider this intended proceeding—for it is absolutely necessary that this Legation should be *accurately* informed from time to time of what is going on in Texas—and, moreover, Lord Aberdeen particularly enjoins you to do so in his Instruction of 3rd May.

I take the liberty of adding that my opinion is fully supported by my french Colleagues and by the Mexican Government.

I send this by H. M. S. *Persian*, and I fervently hope that She may arrive in time to prevent your putting your plan into execution.

Charles Bankhead

Copy remaining with my papers.

Charles Elliot.
Captain Charles Elliot.

[Endorsed.] Inclosure No 2 in Capt Elliot's Despatch No 23 to the Earl of Aberdeen. August 13. 1845.

³⁸F. O. Texas, Vol. 13.

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT³⁹No 10.⁴⁰

Foreign Office.

July 3d. 1845.

Sir,

I have received from you no Despatch of a later date than that of the 2d of April, marked "Secret," in which you reported the arrangement into which, in conjunction with the French Chargé d' Affairs, you had induced the President of Texas to enter, with a view to obtaining the recognition of Texas by Mexico. In the same Despatch you mentioned your intention of proceeding in person secretly to Mexico, in order to carry out more effectually the scheme of action thus devised in Concert with the Texian Government.

I have subsequently learned from Her Majesty's Minister in Mexico your arrival in that City, and the success which had attended the united efforts of the Missions of England and France both in Mexico and Texas, by the conditional acceptance by the Mexican Government of the terms proposed to them by the Government of Texas.

I am happy to be able to convey to you the approbation of Her Majesty's Government of the energy and ability with which, in conjunction with M. de Saligny, you prosecuted this matter with the Government of Texas. It might have been preferable, however, that you had not proceeded in person to Mexico; and at all events it would have been better that you had not proceeded thither secretly, or under a feigned name or character, inasmuch as the mystery which necessarily attended such secret expedition was liable to give rise to erroneous notions and false interpretations of our motives and intentions, especially on the part of the United States.

The policy which Her Majesty's Government have pursued with respect to Texas and Mexico has been perfectly clear and open. It has never required any concealment. We naturally desired to preserve the independence of Texas, with which State we had

³⁹F. O., Texas, Vol. 21.

⁴⁰F. O., Texas, 21, Aberdeen to Elliott, Nos. 8, May 19, and 9, June 18, 1845, have been omitted. No. 8 acknowledged receipt of despatches. No. 9 noted the transmission of copies of correspondence with British consuls in the United States relative to the sugar duties, but these copies could not be found.

entered into engagements, and concluded Treaties, but we also considered that the welfare of Mexico required that She should, if possible, be preserved from immediate contact with the United States.

We thought it probable that upon such separation the peace of the North American Continent, and therefore of the World, might materially depend. We accordingly employed our efforts, but openly and fairly, to accomplish this object. We looked upon it's furtherance as no less desirable for the United States than for Mexico, since we do not believe that the aggrandizement of the United States will in any way contribute to their strength, or to the advancement of the material interests of their people. On the contrary, we believe that such aggrandizement will be found to have a precisely opposite effect, and that it will eventually excite discord in the bosom of that great Country. But such dissention could scarcely fail to act injuriously upon British interests, considering the vast amount of British Capital which is engaged in Commerce with the United States. Our well understood national interests require that the United States should remain peaceful and united amongst themselves; but the system of extention of their territory which they are now pursuing seems to us to place their internal peace and union, as well as the peace of the whole Continent in jeopardy. For that reason therefore, as well as for those above pointed out, we have constantly sought to uphold the independence of Texas. But in pursuing this policy we have no specified British interests in view, apart from general interests, for we do not conceive that any material or direct British interest is involved in the independence of Texas. Had it been so, it would undoubtedly have been the duty of Her Majesty's Government to promote such interests by every fair means in their power; but we should still have pursued that object as a clear and obvious publick obligation, without the smallest concealment.

I have entered thus at length into explanations respecting the policy of Her Majesty's Government with regard to Texas and Mexico, as well as the United States, with reference to those Countries, in order to demonstrate to you that the Mystery which you unfortunately threw round your recent preceedings was not only unnecessary, but liable to be misunderstood in such manner

as to make your policy appear in a light the very reverse of that which it ought to bear.

In doing this I have thought it expedient to point out to you the error into which you have unintentionally fallen, and which is liable to create serious embarrassment and misunderstanding, in order that you may hereafter be enabled to avoid any repetition of it.

I do not think it necessary to enter upon this occasion into the question of the probable result of your late proceedings, since any reflections in which I might indulge must, in the uncertain position in which matters stand at present in Texas, be purely speculative. Her Majesty's Government see no reason to entertain any sanguine hope that the President of Texas will have been enabled to resist the popular clamour for annexation. It is therefore unnecessary at the present moment to give contingent instructions for the guidance of your conduct in the scarcely imaginable case of the maintenance of their independence by the people of Texas. In the event of the annexation of that Country to the United States being completed, you will remain at your post, or at some port of the United States, as you were authorized to do by my Despatch marked "Separate" on the 3rd. of April last, until you receive further instructions from this Office.

Aberdeen.

Captain Elliot. R. N.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN⁴¹

No 19.

New Orleans.

July 3rd. 1845.

My Lord,

The President's Message,⁴² herewith transmitted, reached me this Evening, and seeing that there can be no further need for my stay in this quarter at present, I shall proceed to New York forthwith, holding myself in constant readiness to return to Texas at any moment that my presence there may be thought requisite or desirable. I learn by private letters from Texas that the Steamer Princeton was despatched direct to Norfolk, with these accounts, so that the detailed intelligence of what has passed in

⁴¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 13.

⁴²Printed copy of Jones' message of June 16, 1845.

Texas will no doubt reach Her Majesty's Government from Washington before this despatch can arrive in England.

It would be erroneous to suppose that the unanimity of the Vote in the Texian Congress is decisive of the real feeling of the whole people of that Country. On the contrary, these scrambling and hurried proceedings in this grave affair afford reason to think that discussion was considered dangerous, and the acquiescence of persons in that body well known to be adverse to Annexation is only evidence that they were borne down by the apprehension of Violence, or at least by a sense that it was hopeless openly to resist the unscrupulous management and misrepresentation in operation at this moment.

Her Majesty's Government will find in these proceedings of Congress, and the official Correspondence herewith transmitted remarkable proof of the extent to which the people have been deceived and worked upon both in the United States and in Texas. So far as it has yet gone however this Measure is no doubt an immense triumph to the great Slave Trade interests of this Country.

Men, Women, and Children, My Lord, have risen in value at least 30 per Cent since this scheme was proposed by Mr Tyler in 1844; And the Annexation of Texas which some of the Statesmen of this Country have ventured to actuate in the phrase that it would constitute an "Exodus" for their Slave population signifies in the plainer speech, and, more reverent use of terms applicable to this painful transaction, that they have robbed a Market from a weak and peaceful neighbour where Slavery had no legal existence for the disposal and consumption of their surplus human produce. Their avowed purpose is that the Slaves are to be worked off in Texas till Slavery can no longer be turned to profitable account, and then that the wreck of the race is to be driven forth into the Mexican Provinces, to mix themselves with the inhabitants of those Countries.

But turning from this extravagance, I take the liberty to offer the opinion that the triumph these parties have achieved will be found to be insubstantial and transitory. Misrepresentation and political intrigue, and disease and sordid Motives of all kinds are of no texture to withstand the right feeling, and sober purposes of the great body of this people on this subject

of Slavery. The reaction will be strong, and not slow of coming; and so far as the durability of the institution of Slavery is considered I believe that the Annexation of Texas will by no means work steadily in the sense that its advocates suppose. But there are other consequences to be feared from the success of such schemes as this, and the time may not be distant when it will be manifest that the true friends of the honour, happiness, and integrity of this great Confederacy were those just and able Statesmen who warned their fellow Citizens against the evils of this bad plot.

I learn from a good source this Evening that two Corps of infantry are to be sent immediately to Matagorda by Sea, and that a regiment of Cavalry is to march into Texas from Fort Jessup. It was said that the whole force under orders would not exceed 1,500 men. The Squadron before Galveston had broken up and returned to this Country.

I take the liberty of forwarding Your Lordship the Copy of a Despatch I addressed to Mr Bankhead yesterday, and I would also mention that if your Lordship forwarded me any instructions by the Mail of the 19th May, they have not yet reached me, having probably crossed me on my way up from Texas to this place.

Charles Elliot.

To the Right Honourable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.